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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2520th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 27 March 1984, at 10.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Javier ARIAS STELLA (Peru).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2520)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 18 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16420)

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Tribute to the memory of His Excellency Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The international community has learned with deep regret of the death of Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea. President Sékou Touré was an outstanding African statesman. I am sure that I am expressing the feelings of all the members of the Council in transmitting to the Government and the people of Guinea, as well as to the members of the bereaved family of the President, our sincere condolences upon the great loss they have suffered.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: At the outset of this meeting, I should like, on behalf of the Council, to pay a tribute to Mr. Shah Nawaz, representative of Pakistan, for his services as President of the Council in February. Mr. Shah Nawaz earned our profound gratitude for the consummate diplomatic skill and the unfailing courtesy with which he guided the Council's deliberations last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 18 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16420)

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nigeria, Oman, the Sudan and Zaire in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mubarak (Sudan) and Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took places at the Council table; Mr. Ogouma (Benin), Mr. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. Ali (Oman) and Mr. N'Ji-Lamule (Zaire) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The Security Council is meeting today in response to a request which appears in a letter dated 18 March 1984 from the representative of the Sudan to the President of the Council.

5. I should also like to bring to the attention of members of the Council the following documents: a letter dated 17 March from the representative of the Sudan to the Secretary-General [*S/16419*] and a letter dated 19 March from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the Secretary-General [*S/16421*].

6. The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan. I welcome him here and invite him to make his statement.

7. Mr. MUBARAK (Sudan) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: It saddens us to begin this meeting with a eulogy to a prominent leader of Africa who devoted his life to the struggle for the liberation and unity of the African continent. One of the founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, he is none other than the late President Ahmed Sékou Touré of the fraternal People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea. The death of President Sékou Touré comes at a time when the African continent is in greatest need of his wisdom and great experience in fostering unity among African States, the liberation of Namibia, the elimination of racial discrimination and the achievement of the aspirations of the African continent for progress and development. I should like through you, Mr. President, to convey to the people and Government of Guinea and to the family

of the departed President Sékou Touré the sincerest condolences of the Government and people of the Sudan. We are confident that the principles to which the late President devoted his life will remain a source of inspiration and guidance to the brotherly people of Guinea in its endeavours to achieve its aspirations.

8. Allow me at the outset to extend congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am confident that your capabilities and wisdom will crown the deliberations of the Council with the desired results which will contribute to bolstering peace and stability and to putting an end to acts of aggression and terrorism.

9. I should like also to extend congratulations to your predecessor, Mr. Shah Nawaz, representative of Pakistan, on the wisdom he displayed in presiding over the Council last month.

10. Allow me also to thank you and the members of the Council for granting the request of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan to convene the Council to consider the complaint contained in document S/16420.

11. On Friday, 16 March, at 11.30 a.m., a Soviet-built Tupolev TU-22 bomber of the Libyan air force carried out an air raid over the city of Omdurman, one of the three boroughs making up the national capital of the Sudan. It dropped five 500-pound bombs, one of which did not explode and is still in our possession. It is a Soviet-made bomb dating back to 1978. That raid resulted in the death of five citizens inside their houses, the wounding of a great number and the destruction of premises belonging to the public broadcasting station, some private homes and several vehicles. The bomber attacked the city of Omdurman from the south-west at a low altitude, thus enabling the city's population to see it very clearly. It then turned back, after having dropped its bombs, and flew off towards the north-west.

12. The Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan has ascertained, on the basis of clear and categorical evidence, that the Libyan bomber took off from the military base of Kufra, in south-eastern Libya, to which it returned following the dastardly attack. It was led by a Libyan crew consisting of the pilot, Lieutenant-Colonel Salim Ahmed Muftah, Major Murad Nusradin Al-Karmuni and the co-pilot, Al-Mulsif Al-Mabruk. The crew of the bomber was promoted immediately after the raid for the sabotage they had perpetrated. The bomber is one of seven Soviet-built TU-22s owned by Libya. It is a medium-range bomber with a range of 1,570 nautical miles—that is, about 3,000 kilometres—and its supersonic speed is about 1,600 kilometres per hour, which enables it to strike its target and return without refuelling. This bomber is characterized by its radar-jamming ability. According to reports from international strategic institutes, the only State in Africa possessing such bombers is Libya.

13. The Government of the Sudan has evidence confirming that the squadron of TU-22s owned by Libya and permanently stationed at Kufra was transferred to another site immediately following the raid against Omdurman.

14. The city of Omdurman is situated on the western bank of the Nile, separated from Khartoum, the capital, by the White Nile, and from Khartoum Bahri, the third borough of the capital, by the Blue Nile. It is the headquarters of the National People's Council and of the public television and broadcasting station of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan. It is the most densely populated city in the Sudan, especially the area situated on the bank of the Nile which was the target of the Libyan attack.

15. The plane, flying low as it did, with the noise it made and the explosion of its bombs, gave rise to panic among the peaceful population in their homes at the weekend.

16. The gravity of this event lies not only in the fact that it is a flagrant act of aggression against and a blatant violation of the sovereignty of the Sudan, a dastardly act of war and a heinous attack against civilian targets in the most densely populated city in the Sudan, but also in the fact that it is one more link, certainly not the last, in an uninterrupted chain of acts of aggression, sabotage and flagrant, continuous interference in the internal affairs of the Sudan, announced and implemented by Libya over the past few years in full view of the world. The most recent example was the speech by Colonel Qaddafi on 2 March, when he stated:

> "We tell the lackeys in the Sudan that we are allied with the popular revolution in the southern Sudan to liberate the Sudan inch by inch, just as Lebanon was liberated."

He continued:

> "The Libyan revolution has decided to ally itself with the revolution in the southern Sudan, because the People's Jamahiriya was heartened by America's defeat in Lebanon."

17. The records of the Security Council and of the regional organizations to which the Sudan and Libya belong affirm this and spare us the need to go into details of the bleak record of the Libyan régime with respect to the Sudan and to other African and Arab States. It suffices here to review, simply by way of example, some of the events to which the Sudan has been exposed over the past few years, while indicating at the same time the Sudan's persistent and recurrent efforts to treat the acts of aggression by the Libyan régime within the context of the League of Arab States and OAU and to inform those organizations and the Council of these practices.

18. First, in July 1976, the Sudan was the victim of a brutal invasion by forces mobilized and trained by

Libya, which equipped them with the most modern weapons and equipment and with vehicles to infiltrate the north-western frontiers of the Sudan. The invasion was aimed at overthrowing the régime and installing a puppet régime that would place the Sudan under Libyan guardianship and make it into a corridor for sabotage and intervention by the Libyan régime in other African States. In spite of the fact that the people and Government of the Sudan repulsed the invasion, the loss of life, especially among civilians and children, and the destruction inflicted upon the capital, left a deep wound which cannot heal with the passage of time. We refer here to document S/12122 of 5 July 1976, containing the complaint by the Sudan and its request for an urgent meeting of the Council to discuss the Libyan act of aggression.

19. Secondly, in June 1981, Libya planted explosives in the Embassy of Chad at Khartoum, resulting in loss of life and property. Some of the perpetrators of the crimes, who had come from Libya to carry out that act of sabotage, confessed the details of Libya's involvement in that incident.

20. Thirdly, the Libyan occupation forces in Chad shelled villages in the western Sudan with bombs and rockets on 10 September 1981 and subsequent days. This resulted in loss of life and property. We informed the ambassadors of all the States represented in Khartoum of what had happened and asked them to convey the information to their Governments. We also affirmed, in order to pre-empt Libyan lies, the Sudan's readiness to receive fact-finding commissions from the League of Arab States, OAU or the United Nations. In document S/14693 dated 16 September 1981, we informed the President of the Council of a series of Libyan air raids against villages of the western Sudan.

21. Fourthly, Libya has persisted in escalating its acts of aggression against the Sudan. In March 1982, it posted booby-trapped parcels, which caused loss of life and property. This forced the Sudan to lodge a formal complaint with the League of Arab States in order to put an end to the practices of the Libyan régime.

22. Fifthly, that was not the end of Libya's provocations: Libya mobilized its military forces on our north-western border. We informed the Council of that fact at its 2416th meeting, held on 22 February 1983.

23. Sixthly, affirmation of Libya's aggressive intentions and a prelude to further acts of aggression and provocation are contained in a memorandum sent by Libya to the League of Arab States on 9 February 1984, in which it threatened to use various means against the Sudan if the Sudan did not desist from so-called campaigns of terrorism and aggression against it. The Sudan responded by declaring its readiness to establish a fact-finding commission to ascertain the source of the terrorism and aggression.

24. Seventhly, on 9 March 1984, Libya circulated its note number 300 to all diplomatic missions accredited to Tunis. That note is full of calumnies and slander against the Sudan and its leadership and confirms the intentions of the Libyan régime and its aggressive plots against the Sudan. Libya has coupled actions to its words by carrying out the brutal air raid against Omdurman on the morning of 16 March. All of this clearly shows the aggressive nature of the Libyan régime and its determination to escalate its aggressive practices against the Sudan. Those practices have now reached the point of bombing civilian targets in the national capital of the Sudan. The air raid against Omdurman constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, of the charters of regional organizations, of the principles of international law and of the norms of contemporary international conduct.

25. In the past we had thought that our repeated resort to OAU and to the League of Arab States would put an end to these aggressive practices, but this grave escalation by Libya has left us with no choice but to turn to the highest international authority, namely the Security Council, which is entrusted under the Charter with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and for safeguarding the sovereignty of Member States against practices and actions such as those of the Libyan régime.

26. Members of the Council may wonder about the reasons for repeated Libyan aggression against the Sudan, especially since our two peoples have more to unite them than to divide them. It is no secret that we too are wondering about the reasons which prompt the Libyan régime to persist in its campaigns and acts of aggression and intervention against the Sudan. We have no dispute with Libya over borders or underground natural resources; we are not rivals for commercial markets or in trade. The common links and the intellectual and cultural bonds that unite the Libyan and Sudanese peoples go without saying; those bonds could have served to strengthen good, fruitful relations between Libya and the Sudan had it not been for Libya's insistence on continually interfering in the internal affairs of the Sudan, Libya's denial of the legitimate right of the Sudan to sovereignty over its own territory and to adopt policies emanating from the ambitions and hopes of the people, and Libya's rejection of the principles of good-neighbourliness, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, and the non-use or threat of use of force in international relations.

27. The reason behind the repeated Libyan acts of aggression against the Sudan is as follows: The Libyan régime wishes to impose its tutelage and hegemony upon us and to deprive us of our right to adopt independent positions. We are not warmongers or empire-builders. We do not export revolutionary philosophies. We do not aspire to hegemony or domination over anyone; all we aspire to is peace and security, which would enable us to devote our attention to the urgent needs of our people and to continue our development efforts aimed at achieving well-being for our people. The President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan

has reiterated this on many occasions, most recently in his address on 3 March 1984, in which he said that the cornerstone of our foreign relations was the protection of common peace and security, and mutual respect for the right of international and national sovereignty, for the safety and security of all peoples and States of the region, and for the right to choose political and social systems without any interference, tutelage or coercion.

28. As the representative of a developing country, Mr. President, you are aware that the stifling international economic crisis, which paralyses our economies and threatens the very survival of our peoples and the ability of our Governments to guarantee the provision of basic necessities, permits none of us to indulge in dreams of leadership, domination and hegemony —particularly in Africa, where adverse international economic factors are combined with natural factors to turn the everyday endeavour for subsistence into a desperate daily struggle for millions of people.

29. Today we face challenges, we bear the burdens of reconstruction and we must withstand economic crises, and therefore we cannot create conflicts, waste our potential and our resources on stockpiling highly sophisticated and the most destructive weapons. We must concentrate on the priorities of our peoples, on achieving social and economic development for our countries, on bringing about the independence of Namibia, on eradicating *apartheid* in South Africa, on achieving a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, and on securing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

30. These are concerns and priorities whose realization requires great efforts and the mobilization and dedication of every potential and all resources. However, the purpose and policy of the Libyan leadership, to which it devotes all its potential, is to destabilize the security of the States of the region and impede their development in order to achieve its ambition of hegemony, domination and tutelage over peoples.

31. The Sudan resorted to the Council following the Libyan invasion in July 1976, but withdrew its complaint in response to the mediation of our Arab and African brothers. It was a worthy mediation, which we accepted on the basis of our Arab and African commitment and the great importance that we attach to the role played by the League of Arab States and OAU. It may be appropriate to mention here what the then Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan said when he met with the Secretary-General following the withdrawal of the complaint. He assured him that, despite the recognition by the Sudan of the role of OAU and the League of Arab States in settling conflicts between member States, the Sudan did not consider that what Libya had done was part of a mere conflict between two States. In the opinion of the Sudan, it was a flagrant aggression which would threaten the peace and security of the region if the international community, represented in the Security Council, did not face it firmly.

32. Once again we affirm that the Libyan air raid against the Sudan cannot be considered part of a conflict between two States or an offshoot of such a conflict. It was a deliberate, unprovoked act of aggression and a serious violation which cannot be condoned. It is also a serious precedent which undermines the basis of international relations and the conventions and norms which govern such relations by prohibiting aggression and the use of force. In that light, it goes beyond a mere violation of the security and sovereignty of one State and becomes a threat to the peace and security of the region, and therefore requires firm action by the international community.

33. The air raid carried out by Libya against my country on 16 March, was undoubtedly a blatant act of aggression and a clear, flagrant violation of the sovereignty and security of the Sudan and its citizens. It also represents a direct threat to peace and security in the region and the world in general. Because the Charter has entrusted the Security Council with the responsibility for taking all necessary measures to safeguard international peace and security, the Council must do the following: first, condemn the Libyan act of aggression carried out on 16 March; secondly, call upon Libya to desist forthwith from repeating such an act; and, thirdly, persuade Libya to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Sudan.

34. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mr. Ali Abdusalam Treiki. I invite him to make his statement.

35. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: Before beginning my statement, I should like to express our deep regret at the loss of an African leader—President Ahmed Sékou Touré, of revolutionary Guinea. Those who knew President Sékou Touré personally—and I am proud to be among them—realize the importance of his role in Africa's struggle for independence and freedom. President Sékou Touré led his people in a long struggle for independence and said "No" to colonialism at a time when many other African leaders said "Yes". The strong fraternal links that bind Libya and Guinea have developed through fruitful, continuous co-operation. We express our condolences and ask mercy for the late departed and patience for his bereaved family.

36. I should like to express to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. As you represent a non-aligned country and people aspiring to freedom, like the rest of the peoples that struggle against hegemony and colonialism, we are confident that you are eminently qualified to preside over the Council during this critical period. In addition, I cannot fail to express our great thanks and appreciation to our brother, Mr. Shah Nawaz, of Pakistan, for the excellent manner in which he presided over the Council last month.

37. I cannot conceal my feelings of regret and disappointment to be speaking before you, Mr. President, about an allegation relating to two fraternal countries whose peoples are bound by ties of blood, religion, language, traditions and neighbourhood. Those two peoples have a common history and a common destiny. Together with the Arab Republic of Egypt, they are members of what has been called the Tripoli Charter, an organization to promote unity. Libya and the Sudan were both supposed to carry out joint action to denounce the real enemy of the Arab nation and together to confront the imperialist threat represented by the allies of zionism. That was a duty incumbent upon both the Sudan and Libya. But one cannot always have what one wants.

38. I know the Sudan and its people very well, and I had therefore expected that fraternal country to be an ally of Libya against imperialist American intervention. We stand together in one broad front against the Zionists and their imperialist allies.

39. I should like at the outset to address the remarks with which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan concluded his statement. He wondered about the reasons behind the dispute between Libya and the Sudan. He said we were one people with one language, neighbours who had no problems regarding borders or other issues. I agree with him in that respect, but I disagree with him about the reasons. The reasons lie in the fact that the Sudan has been used by the forces of imperialism to launch a feverish campaign against the great Revolution of 1 September as a revolution that stands against imperialism and supports the rights of peoples.

40. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan spoke of events for which he claimed Libya was responsible, but he forgot that the matter is rooted in the internal situation in the Sudan and the problems faced by that fraternal country. We know of those problems. Between the *coup d'état* of May 1969 and the present day, the Sudan has been exposed to more than 18 *coups d'état*. Today's edition of *The Washington Post* states that "The escalating tension sheds light on Nimeiri's weakness since he succeeded in frustrating 15 *coups d'état* after assuming power in 1969." At present—the newspaper goes on— "Nimeiri has at his disposal the American AWACS to protect him from real or imagined external enemies." In *The Toronto Sun*, Eric Margolis writes about the internal problems of the Sudan as follows: "His régime hardly extends beyond the borders of Khartoum, the capital, in which an army of 55,000 soldiers protects the régime, which also enjoys intense support from Egypt and the West." He also says that the Sudan has witnessed 18 attempted *coups d'état* in past years.

41. What is happening in the Sudan, such as the continuous internal upheavals, is caused by mismanagement and corruption. In three successive articles in *Le Monde*—a very reputable newspaper known to all members—under the title "Le Soudan en mal de stabilité", clear reference is made to the problems faced by the Sudan. Moreover, some Sudanese officials speak of these problems. *Le Monde* states:

> "President Nimeiri has created a vacuum around himself. He is at the same time head of State and of Government, Chairman of the only party, the Sudanese Socialist Union, Commander-in-Chief of the army, and head . . . of the Sudanese news agency."*

Le Monde then speaks of the problems faced by the Sudan that have led to, among other things, continuous liquidations within the leadership of the Sudan. Everybody knows that Nimeiri is the only survivor of the leadership that undertook the *coup* of May. *Le Monde* even speaks of judges. I think no other country has witnessed such a mass expulsion of judges from their posts. Mr. Hassan Al-Turabi, who currently occupies the post of assistant to the President of the Sudan, and was Attorney-General for four years, told *Le Monde* that the President of the Republic

> "had weakened all Sudanese institutions, that the sole political party existed only on paper, that there was no longer any freedom in a country where the people mouthed empty slogans, that there was a deep rift between the Government and the people, and that one could not rule out the possibility of a military *coup d'état* organized by 'a Jerry Rawlings or a Sergeant Doe'."*

42. These volatile political problems in the Sudan, which have led to such continuous upheavals, are also reflected in the adverse economic situation in the Sudan, which is not a result of the Sudan's being a poor country: it is the richest and largest country in Africa, and, according to United Nations statistics, could feed the whole of Africa. These problems are the result of mismanagement in the Sudan.

43. According to *The Washington Post*, of late the foreign debt of the Sudan has reached $9 billion, and interest on the loans comprising that debt exceeds the national income of that country, including debts to the Jamahiriya, against which the Sudan is complaining. Those debts to the Jamahiriya amount to $21 million, at 2.5 per cent interest. The Sudan has not even paid the 2.5 per cent interest on those loans. This economic situation has led to grave political problems and, according to *Le Monde*, it has also led the Sudan to place itself under the guardianship of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). *Le Monde* said that the Sudan had become a protectorate of IMF. Naturally, this means it has become a protectorate of the United States, as is now evident.

44. The problems did not affect only the northern part of the Sudan but also extended to the south of the Sudan. The upheaval now being witnessed in the Sudan

* Quoted in French by the speaker.

in the form of civil war is the result of violations of agreements concluded to achieve national conciliation in the south. These deteriorating internal economic and political problems have adversely affected both the domestic and foreign policies of the Sudan. At one time, in 1980, the Sudan severed diplomatic relations with Iraq and accused Iraq of hatching a conspiracy. In 1981, it accused Syria of hatching a conspiracy and severed diplomatic relations with Syria. Next, it expelled the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinians from the Sudan. But its main problem is that it has been requested to do the same *vis-à-vis* Libya.

45. In Libya there is a régime which builds and spends money not on armaments, as mentioned by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, but on the economy. Every citizen in Libya has a modern home. There is one doctor for every 1,000 Libyans. There is a network of roads and hospitals in Libya that is unparalleled in Africa. There are in Libya more than 100,000 Sudanese brothers who have fled their country to make a living in a fraternal neighbouring country, and they live amongst their own people.

46. What is the situation in the Sudan? No electricity, no water and no roads—hence the continuous endeavour to provoke Libya and falsely accuse it, because Libya is used as a good whipping boy to obtain American assistance. And here I should like to quote the following from the statement of the Vice-President of the Sudan, Mr. Al-Turabi, to *Le Monde* on 5 October 1983: "Qaddafi has become the spectre used to incite Americans to assist the Sudan." In the context of this orientation, the Sudanese régime started a systematic and continuous campaign of aggression against Libya.*

47. In a statement to the *The International Herald Tribune*, issued in Paris on 2 April 1981, President Nimeiri said that he was at war with Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, that he believed the world should attempt to get rid of him—even by resorting to assassination—and that he personally was ready to offer help to anyone who decided to do that job.

48. The Egyptian newspaper *Al-Akhbar*—which I do not believe supports Libya—on 17 May 1981, published a statement by President Nimeiri to the German News Agency to the effect that his forces were not afraid of a military confrontation with the Libyan forces that, in his words, had invaded Chad, that he was working to overthrow Colonel Qaddafi and that the aim of his strategy was to get rid of Qaddafi.

49. In a statement by him before members of the People's Assemblies in the Kordofan region, President Nimeiri made the following statement which was published in the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram* of 19 June 1981: "Do not be surprised if you see me leading a legion to fight Qaddafi in Libya." Is there anything clearer than that?

50. In a statement to the *The Washington Post* on 13 October 1981, the President of the Sudanese régime said that he had actually started training his lackeys to infiltrate into Libya in order to overthrow the Libyan régime.

51. This continuous hostility on the part of the Sudanese régime against Libya which I have outlined is the corner-stone of the foreign policy of the Sudanese régime, in keeping with instructions received by it from the United States Government.

52. I do not want to speak about hostility towards the progressive movements in the Arab homeland and on the African continent, in keeping with that approach. I shall not speak about provocations against fraternal African States neighbouring the Sudan and known to all representatives here—this scenario which we are discussing for the second time.

53. In July 1976, President Nimeiri attended the thirteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU held in Mauritius —at which I headed the delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya—to lodge a complaint with OAU and to ask that Libya be condemned because, as stated by the leaders of the Sudan and by him at the time, Libyan-assisted forces had moved from Benghazi on the Mediterranean to Khartoum, some 4,000 miles away. However, faced with the refusal of the Africans at the time, President Nimeiri withdrew his complaint and said that he would come to the Security Council—which he did, as stated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan—because the Powers which instructed him to do so were not members of OAU or the League of Arab States but were represented in the Council and claimed that they were able to defend him. But, unlike what has been stated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, he first went to OAU, then withdrew his complaint and later came to the Council. It was ascertained that not a single Libyan had participated and that it was a Sudanese *coup* attempt—one of the many attempted *coups* that I have mentioned—during which Abdel Qader Mahgub and Hashem Al-Attalah were liquidated.

54. It would be impossible for me to give the Council a list of all those who have been assassinated or murdered in the Sudan. Perhaps the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan know that, during one of the *coups d'état* which was undertaken by Hashem Attalah, President Nimeiri was imprisoned and later saved by Libya. Everybody knows this, and I need not go into the details. Now Libya is accused of invading the Sudan. Well, Libya at one time saved President Nimeiri when he was in gaol in Khartoum.

55. Last year we witnessed a scenario: there was a threat against the Sudan; an imperialist aircraft-carrier

* Quoted in French by the speaker.

moved against Libya; and AWACS were deployed. Now we are witnessing the same scenario all over again, but this latest scenario is clear in the sense that there is not a single piece of evidence to support it.

56. However, we could furnish evidence from their own camp. *The Times* of London printed the following headline: "Suspicion grows that Khartoum launched the raid on its own people". *The Christian Science Monitor*, an American newspaper, published the headline: "Did Libya Bomb the Sudan? Answer may lie in the Sudanese rebellion." That was a headline in *The Christian Science Monitor*, which stated that the perpetrator of this act could have been either an air force officer flying a MiG-15 or President Nimeiri himself who ordered the action and use of MiG-15. That newspaper added that the action was taken in an attempt to obtain American aid. *The New York Times* also speaks of questions surrounding this incident.

57. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan said that the aircraft which attacked the Sudan was a medium-range Tupolev TU-22 flying at low altitude. According to the Sudanese régime, this aircraft took off from the base at Kufra and flew all the way to Khartoum. The Sudanese Minister said that it had a range of 3,000 kilometres. The distance from Kufra to Khartoum is more than 3,000 kilometres—about 2,000 miles. Hence this aircraft would have been flying without refuelling beyond its range—and without any protection whatsoever in broad daylight, at 11.30 a.m., through sectors monitored by American AWACS. Could the AWACS have broken down? We all know that those aircraft are present in the area, but this bomber covered all that distance—more than its range, as mentioned by the Sudanese Minister for Foreign Affairs—to bomb Omdurman while flying at low altitude, and the Sudanese air force and the foreign military forces in the Sudan were caught by surprise by this aircraft bombing Omdurman in broad daylight. Even though I am not a military man, I would be ashamed to make such statements.

58. It is incredible that the Sudan, which could identify the members of the Libyan crew—Mr. Mubarak mentioned Salim Ahmed Muftah and another member—was unable to do anything about this aircraft. It seems that the information provided to the Sudan, which included the names of crew members, also indicated that the crew had been promoted. I do not know the source for that piece of information.

59. We have constantly affirmed that we have no knowledge of this incident, that no single Libyan aircraft ever violated Sudanese airspace. What is the evidence? They say that Libya has such aircraft, that the fact that Libya has a certain type of aircraft means that Libya undertook the raid. The other piece of evidence is that there is a base at Kufra. As everyone knows, the facility at Kufra is a civilian airport open to international traffic.

60. This is the scenario: As everybody knows, the Vice-President of the Sudan came to the United States to request assistance, and it was declared that some assistance would be airlifted. Then the Sudanese régime, through the President in Khartoum, denied the statement. Having stated that it had failed to obtain such assistance, the Sudan had to fabricate a certain incident to justify imperialist American intervention and the dispatch of the AWACS. Hence the colonization of the Sudan and the dispatch of foreign forces to that country, the justification for which was that Libya had launched this raid.

61. It is clear that there is no single piece of evidence supporting this baseless allegation. I affirm before the Council that the allegation is unfounded, that not a single Libyan aircraft participated in any raid and that there is no justification for Libyan participation in any action against the Sudan. I affirm that this incident has been fabricated. Regrettably, a Government has struck against its own citizens in an attempt to arouse the antagonism of a foreign Power against a fraternal country.

62. We have no problems with the Sudan. I agree with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan. We seek good relations with the fraternal Sudan. When you, Mr. President, asked me to meet with the Minister of the Sudan, everyone knows that I stated my readiness to do so.

63. Our problem is not with the Sudan; the problem of Libya and the Sudan is with the enemies of the Arab nation, with the imperialists, with those who help zionism to occupy a cherished part of Palestine, with those who try to colonize the Arab homeland and to pit the Arab countries one against the other, with those who are now intervening and dispatching their weapons and forces. They should realize that the Arab nation is one and that there is no interference by one Arab country in the internal affairs of another, but that what befalls one Arab country affects another.

64. I assure the Council that the picture is now clear and shows that these allegations are false, that the real culprit is the United States, against which we have brought a complaint before this forum. The Council should be concerned about considering our complaint against aggressive American imperialism. As for this agenda item, there is no need for even continuing to discuss it.

65. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: The delegation of Egypt at the outset offers its sincere condolences to the Government and people of friendly Guinea. While as Africans we mourn the death of the late President Ahmed Sékou Touré, we may all find consolation in his unforgettable imprint on the pages of history. The record of his struggle is well known and his contribution to the cause of liberation was not limited to his own country, but extended to the whole African continent and beyond. Ahmed Sékou

Touré was among the founders of OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as the Islamic Conference. His efforts on behalf of the cause of liberation will forever be remembered.

66. The delegation of Egypt would like to express to you, Sir, the representative of Peru, a friendly and non-aligned country, its congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We are confident that your long experience and well-known statesmanship will ensure that the deliberations of the Council are conducted in the best possible way.

67. I take this opportunity also to express our complete satisfaction with and sincere admiration for the exemplary manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Shah Nawaz, the representative of non-aligned and friendly Pakistan, conducted the work of the Council last February.

68. The Council has listened to the statement of Mr. Mubarak, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, in which he reviewed the details of the act of armed aggression carried out on 16 March, when Sudanese airspace was violated by a Tupolev TU-22, which bombed Omdurman, a Sudanese city, before returning to its base in Libyan territory. The only country of the region possessing such aircraft is the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

69. The Egyptian delegation, which listened very carefully to the statement made by Mr. Treiki, Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison, finds it unnecessary to reconfirm the hard facts presented by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, facts that cannot be refuted, in our view, by quotations that may or may not be relevant to the issue of the complaint. In brief, everything said here cannot change the hard, irrefutable facts which the Minister presented here.

70. The act of aggression carried out on 16 March against Sudanese territory, in complete violation of the principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations, is regrettably not the first of its kind from the same source. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan has reviewed the details and we need not repeat them. What is important from our viewpoint is that this act and, indeed, the whole series of acts of aggression carried out against the Sudan have but one basis, namely, the uncontrollable desire to destabilize the Sudan and interfere in its internal affairs. In the face of this and similar acts, how can we believe the repeated claims of good intentions and of a desire to improve relations?

71. Egypt has since the beginning, at all levels and in all official and peoples' organizations, denounced the air raid against the territory and people of the fraternal Sudan. Egypt, which condemns the perpetrators of this act of aggression, has stated that it stands firmly by the side of the Sudan, supporting it and participating in its defence. Egypt, which neither contemplates committing aggression, nor pursues a policy of interfering in the internal affairs of any State or of supporting insurgents against legitimate Governments, is closely watching the situation and its potential threat to international peace and security, in particular in the African continent. Egypt reaffirms before the Council its full support for the fraternal Sudan in fulfilment of its obligations under the mutual defence pact linking the two countries to deter aggression. The relationship between Egypt and the Sudan is one of destiny and fate. The Sudan lies at Egypt's strategic southern flank, and the stability and security of the Sudan are intimately linked to those of Egypt.

72. Based on all these unequivocal considerations, we stand by the side of the Sudan and are watching the situation with the utmost concern so as to thwart any foreign attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the Sudan, commit acts of aggression against it, or to undermine its security.

73. It saddens us to have to refer once again to the fact that Libya and the Sudan, two Arab, Islamic and African countries, members of the same Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—as mentioned by both the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan and the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya—are bound to Egypt by ties of kinship, religion, language, heritage and a common destiny. This sadness stems from the fact that their common borders—which we still hope will be ones of good-neighbourliness, promoting fraternity and the development of mutually constructive relations—have come to be regarded by some as a conduit for acts of infiltration and interference in the security of fraternal States and for sowing the seeds of dissension and division.

74. The Sudan has not committed aggression against anybody and did not send planes to bomb innocent civilians. On the contrary, it is the Sudanese Government and people which have been subjected to shameful acts of aggression, and they have the right to strengthen their means of self-defence and to ensure their security. The Charter itself ensures the right of legitimate collective and individual self-defence, and the mutual defence pact between Egypt and the Sudan not only prescribes the mutual obligations of the two countries but also asserts the national Arab and African duties of mutual support and of common defence of their security and stability against any attempted aggression.

75. Egypt joins the Sudan in calling upon the Council to shoulder its responsibility by upholding what is right, in conformity with the Charter and international law, in order to check the policy of aggression and denounce any form of intervention in the internal affairs of States or threat to their stability and territorial integrity.

76. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of Zaire. I invite

him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

77. Mr. N'JI-LAMULE (Zaire) [*interpretation from French*]: Mr. President, given the distressing circumstances surrounding the start of this debate, allow my delegation to offer the fraternal delegation of Guinea our heartfelt condolences on the untimely demise of Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, the head of State of Guinea.

78. I should now like to thank you, Sir, and the other members of the Council for having allowed me, on behalf of the delegation of Zaire, to speak in the present debate.

79. I am particularly happy to see a diplomat of your stature and with your attributes conducting the debate, since the seriousness of the case now before the Council will certainly require your great skill and experience as a statesman who has served the cause of peace and understanding among peoples.

80. Finally, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of Pakistan, for his talent and the outstanding way in which he guided the Council's work last month.

81. On 16 March, the Sudan, a neighbour of Zaire, fell victim to a barbaric and dastardly act of aggression that caused dismay and bewilderment. An aeroplane, that came from outside the country, dropped bombs and brought death and destruction to an independent and sovereign country.

82. These are serious matters of profound concern to my Government, because they flagrantly violate the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the generally accepted principles of international law on the non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. Never have the uncertainty and the dangers besetting the militarily weak countries of our region of Africa been so great because of the subversive actions of some sorcerer's apprentices who wish to fashion the map of our continent in their own way, seeking to place at the heads of States men of straw to use as mere pawns in their machiavellian game.

83. The Governments of Africa have the right and the duty to unite their forces to guarantee the security of the States of the region against the barbarism that would replace the sacred principles of our African organization, OAU: the inviolability of the borders inherited from colonial times and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. Those principles are the very basis of peace and balance in Africa and departure from them would have serious consequences.

84. We must note with regret that the frequency and proliferation of acts of interference in the internal affairs of other States are assuming ever-greater proportions and, unless we are careful, no State in the region will soon feel secure. Hence it is imperative to remove as soon as possible the dangers that such barbaric acts entail for the national security of all African States, their peace and their future.

85. We must restore respect for the principles of the Charter and respect for the principles of international law. Otherwise, no one can feel safe and what some are experiencing today could happen to others tomorrow. For its part, Zaire will always strive to bring about respect for those principles and will condemn with equal vehemence any act of barbarism that might befall any other country. Zaire has in the past been the victim of repeated attempts at destabilization and it feels a particular closeness and solidarity with the Sudan, since the same legitimate aspirations to preserve independence and national sovereignty inspire and guide the actions of our Governments. Zaire expects the international community strongly to denounce such barbaric acts.

The meeting rose at 1.00 p.m.

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